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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WILLIAM PITT.

WILLIAM



TO

ADAM SMITH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT

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M E M O I R S  
OF THE  
ADMINISTRATION

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
*WILLIAM PITT,*

OR  
AN INQUIRY,  
*Into the Causes and Consequences*

OF HIS  
C O N D U C T,

In Respect to different Departments, Bodies, and  
Public Individuals of the State.

IN  
A L E T T E R  
TO THE  
RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF SUFFOLK,

In Consequence of his Lordship's Motion in Parliament,  
and Conferences with his

MAJESTY,

FOR THE  
REMOVAL OF MINISTERS.

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By *DAVID GAM*, Esq. *K*

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LONDON,  
PRINTED FOR S. AND J. REED, ST. JAMES'S-STREET,

1797.

MEMORIAL

ADMINISTRATION

WILLIAM PITT

OR

AN INQUIRY



CONSTITUTION

In Reply to a Motion for a Resolution, and

Resolved, That the Committee of the House

be

A LETTER

TO THE

HONOURABLE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL

In Compliance with the Resolution of the House

and Committee of the House

MAJESTY

FOR THE

REMOVAL OF MINISTERS

BY DANIEL O'NEILL, ESQ.

LONDON

Printed for J. and W. G. Smith, Strand, and J. and W. G. Smith, Strand

1797

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WHEN Henry V. was treated with *insolence*, and as *one bound in chains* by his enemies, he sent David Gam to reconnoitre them. Faithful to the confidence reposed in him by his Sovereign, Gam boldly reported to his Majesty, "That there were enow to be killed, enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away."—But when the conflict had begun, and this loyal man discovered his king in danger, he rushed forward like a lion upon his foe, till he reached his royal master, covered him with his body, and bore him off in gallant triumph. The victory of Azincour was memorable—but the loyal Lord Suffolk and David Gam were amongst the slain.

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**LETTER, &c.**

**MY LORD,**

**T**HE limitation of the human mind to command certainty for events, and the tyranny of events to subjugate men and measures, are too generally advanced and as falsely admitted to be truths, by men of similar casts. Truth is of an universal nature, it stands corroborated by the concurring testimony of all men, in all ages, and in all countries. Whereas this dispiriting doctrine has been uniformly decried by the celebrated and the wise. Man is not a creature of chance: he has a fixed and immortal principle within him, which, in propor-

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tion to its elevation and virtue, looks down upon fortune; since fortune can neither give nor take away integrity, industry, nor all the great and good qualities of the mind. Genius, virtue and activity are sufficiently powerful and prudent for success.

However, if men will renounce all claims to those noble distinctions, in order to secure pardon for transgressions, and escape punishment, they are entitled to contempt. But we must not, in pity to their plea, surrender the dignity of Virtue and of Reason.

It is upon the violation of these two great principles of human conduct, that our calamities have grown. They are the results of corruption long established and progressively widened into a Systematic Dissolution of the State, by our British administrations. There is indeed an awful self-evidence, on the face of those plans handed down and pursued by Minister after Minister in this country, for the purposes of a narrow policy, though widely hollowing an abyss under the Throne, the Altar, and the State.

Without charging this lengthened chain with such matter, as might shock while it enlightened; without drawing from their caverns, in all the shapes of human crime, men that have past with infamy to oblivion; I shall summarily say of Ministers since the days of the corrupt Walpole, what, with deference I conceive, Mr. Burke had more properly applied to them than to the Crown— \* “That the influence of Ministers had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.” For Ministers are now become the substance, and Monarch, and Parliament but the shadow of Government, Executive, and Legislative. I do not mean to rise with petulant disrespect, upon flippant assertion, against the venerable Poet-Politician. No! I advance with submission to judgment on my proofs. I mean throughout these sheets to follow facts; I pretend neither to eloquence nor persuasion, but as my object is truth, I hope for conviction. Mine, my Lord, is an appeal to the understanding, not an alarm to the passions.

\* Mr. Burke's Bill, on the above principle, clipped the wings of the Monarch, and new plumed the influence of the Minister. He brought Majesty completely under the controul of Ministry.

Mr. Burke well knows that a Minister of this country is eventually become Monarch: he well knows that, by the widely diffused, skilfully applied, and consequently well secured patronage of Majesty, he may command both King and Nation. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* This latitude for abuse in the Minister may hurl both into ruin. If he be ambitious, if he be prodigal, he may, for sway and corruption, shake the pillar of public and private credit; he may cast down from the pinnacle of power this Nation to the gulph of despair; he may crowd disaster upon disaster; he may gloss over error with duplicity, and hide crime in corruption; until at length, the power of the Monarch abused, his treasures exhausted, the credit of his nation shaken, its commerce, its honor, its character gone, and his Throne endangered, his subjects sunk in despondency may rise into despair, and Britain exhibit a scene, over which, let us my Lord, cast a veil. And though this be a true picture of what is, may it never prove a prophecy of what may be.

That I am not however arguing upon a gloomy possibility of future things, but a clear certainty



certainly of past and present facts, that the progress of Ministerial power, that the systematic advances of corruption are become ominous to the Monarchy, the Monarch, and his Family, is a charge that I undertake to substantiate on the most full and unequivocal proofs. But when these are endangered, is a Minister safe? A destruction so wide in its extent, and so illustrious in its objects, being of orders the most venerable and grand, must mark him with ruinous distinction.

If, enthroned in all the arbitrary authority of *Custom*, that Fool and Tyrant, corrupt policy, plead its rights to protect Ministers for their compliance with received System,\* I reply that, System to-day must be altered, be-

\* Walpole's maxim was, that every man had his price: this principle of corruption, has been pursued into a system of prodigality, with which, power has progressively widened, during the lapse of time. To-day, therefore, Mr. Pitt surpasses even his grand master in corruption, but falls far short of him in abilities and information. Walpole's policy and wisdom were an ample shield against all the dangers of war: he vanquished our enemies in its source, and blest the nation with prosperity and uninterrupted peace. But peace is Mr. Pitt's Land of Promise,—we have past through red seas of blood; and the people have suffered famine: Where then is Peace?

cause

cause even *Custom* is altered, for it now assumes the monstrous shape of Revolution. It is no longer National resentment limiting itself to submissive representation.

Let us then wisely and boldly examine our danger, and trace it up to its source, by following those steps, that have brought us to the verge of political dissolution. When the state of our complaint is examined, when cause and effects are before us, it is the surest process for a sound remedy. But if, like a Philosopher at the Crater's side, we can only contemplate the growing horrors of humanity, still, my Lord, though it be without the power of redress, we shall have the satisfaction to have done our duty; nor would I check the tear, though it extinguish not the volcano.

It is indeed with infinite pain that I shall presently undertake a picture, which is not imaginary, but of which the original is well known. I shall endeavour, however, while tracing this representation of our state, to keep down every tone but that of truth and nature. Personal animosity I have none; public zeal, and love of public integrity, I thank my country and religion for. Against Mr. Pitt therefore or  
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any one of his colleagues, I disclaim, with sacred truth, all private cause of dislike. And thank God, my situation in life, and the noiseless tenor of my way, remove me far from all official publicity. I come forward as a private man deeply interested in the National fate.

That fate, my Lord, seems not distant but dark. We have been hurried to it by a Ministerial *impetus*, wrested from Ministerial power, and augmented by Parliamentary force, until the movements have been accelerated to a velocity, ruinous, perhaps final. If ever therefore there was a period that called upon men to think soundly and act vigorously, it is this moment of melancholy apprehension. It is a period that, however silence may be wooed, flattered, or deceived with the mock dignity of moderation, silence at this moment would argue a brutal stupidity, a more than unmanly apathy; it were a total dereliction of all duty. But, thank Heaven, there are men in this country, who have an heart to feel, an head to direct, and an hand to execute: decided men; they are provided against the worst, yet hope for the best: but will stand firm to resist the one and forward  
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the other. My Lord it is an happy characteristic, which we owe to our Rights, the humblest of Englishmen have interests as dear to them, as the most exalted: we have all an harmonious community of blessings, that we hold from our Creator, country, and constitution: we have all unequivocal Rights, that we derive from moral and physical combinations: and the one it were monstrous not to maintain, the other it were a sacrilege to surrender. Unhappily the moment is now come, when we are to attest this. Yes my Lord, it is high time for those, who prefer public good to private ambition, who feel loyalty for their King or love for their Country, and who are exalted above the low gratification of personal animosity—it is time my Lord for such men to step forward.

The fundamental basis of security, upon which our fathers reposed our freedom and property, however chipped by time, or barbarously defaced by human hands, is not yet wholly destroyed. Honest men indeed contemplate its state with affliction, while wicked men rejoice over its disfigured condition. But had a Minister sense of shame, he would blush  
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at this internal dishonor upon his country; he would be afflicted at the disgrace, which stains the administration of Government in its external relations : he would bring home to his own bosom the dangers of his Royal Master, in that of his Family and Kingdoms: he would, yes if he had the feelings of a Briton, he would be overcast by the shadow, that clouded, even for a moment, the glory or prosperity of the Nation. But the tone of moral feelings, in Ministerial bosoms, is otherwise to day. It is true, the friends of the Minister speak of his resolution. He was indeed bold, and it is upon \* record, when an angry boy he was bold even to presumption. But this was the folly of political

\* On Mr. Pitt's entrance into political life, being irritated in debate by the wit of Mr. Sheridan, he unguardedly descended to petulant personality, and cast out a sneer against his bringing his genius to that house which had been devoted to the Theatre, and better calculated for amusement than debate. Mr. Sheridan by the retort courteous, most wittily and wisely made Mr. Pitt ashamed of his illiberality, and unguarded attack: it descended deep into the heart of the Minister, for he has never ventured on a repetition of the same kind. Mr. Sheridan concluded his reply to the Minister, by confessing the occasional application of his mind to Dramatic Composition, and therefore thanked Mr. Pitt for some hints which he had given him that night— "for, his next attempt should be to improve Ben Johnson's picture of the Angry Boy by the original then before him."

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childhood,

childhood, whereas perseverance becomes obstinacy, and obstinacy crime, amidst the vices of Ministerial manhood.

Prompted by this principle of Administration, his colleagues, with the mock ignorance of political guilt, amidst the unerring evidence and publicity of its effects, amidst complaints throughout the nation, amidst discontents throughout the empire, amidst murmurs throughout Europe, and amidst reproaches, (if they have any conscience) which invade their solitude, as spectres haunt the guilty; amidst all this, with a shameless semblance of innocence, they demand, *Why they are to be removed?* Precedents might prove to them, that contempt and irritated despair may kindle into indignation; that the temper of the people of Europe, at this day, is not that of submission: that they murmur horribly, at a distance: and that the peal now roars nearly around us. Heaven grant that the thunder may not burst amongst us! I deprecate the danger; an ominous hint has uttered before, the Minister is too high by an head.

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In respect to the removal of the present Administration, it has been aptly applied, by the Duke of Norfolk, to Lord Grenville's friendly demand of specific charges against the Minister, "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*" It has been also urged in answer to this Peer, by your Lordship, and pardon me if I say, with the generous feelings of a Briton,\* that the neglect of British Ministers is conspicuous in respect to men, as well as things: Lord Rodney was rewarded for his brilliant achievements by a Peerage; its *privileges* saved him from the jaws of a jail. Lord Howe was rewarded, by disappointment to his own and the Nation's expectations; the vacant ribbon was given to the Duke of Portland. Sir Charles Grey was rewarded by having been sent back amidst the

\* Lord Suffolk's conference with His Majesty for the removal of Ministers bore no semblance to the Buckingham business, conducted up the *Back-stairs*. But the most Noble Marquis is fond of back ways, and not without reason, they have proved *serviceable* to him; he owes to Mr. Lee's back way his safety and escape from Ireland. Why, then, does he not, in *sensible* thankfulness, alter the punning motto in Pall Mall, to an expressive record for the Public and his Posterity? And instead of "*Templa quam dilecta,*" take a part for the whole, and using a Poet's licence, without his fiction, say — but I ask pardon, I leave it to the Most Noble Marquis's learning and gratitude to put in a good word for *Back Stairs*.

perils of climate and dangers of war: it was to reap new honors. Lord Fitzwilliam was rewarded, for his honorable reliance on Ministerial truth, and the principled rectitude of his own intention, by all the charges of inventive duplicity; it was the *intended* degradation of a trickster.

It has been also stated in reply to this demand, by Lord Moira, that the Ministerial management of Finance, and its Military measures, exhibit the proofs why Administration should be removed. But to this I shall subjoin, and hereafter specify, their Naval neglect. It has likewise been answered by Lord Landdowne, that the charges against Ministers are precisely those, which they level against their opposers, that they are Jacobins, and if it be by men's acts we are to judge of their principles, Administration must, notwithstanding their words, be unequivocally deemed Jacobins. For what are Forced Loans, — Are they not Jacobinical? Is not forced Paper Currency, Jacobinical? Are not forced Requisitions, Jacobinical? Are not measures, that bring Monarchy into danger, and Royalty into disrepute, Jacobinical?



Jacobinical? That shake the throne and hollow under the altar, Are not these Jacobinical? But let us recur to facts.

Attached to the order of Government in this country, I disclaim and abhor all Gallo-maniaism. But since Administration, by its conduct, tends decidedly to augment and direct the current of popular odium, which prevails so universally to-day, against Monarchy and Royalty, it becomes an act of principle, on the part of every wise and honest man, to resist its plans. We must oppose them for their effects. Were they to be traced up to the spring of action, and it were found that such bad effects flow from good causes, the more indisputably should such egregious weakness and folly be removed. And if they proceed from a bad cause, wickedness has no plea. The ministerial language of the day maintains loudly, that it is unfair to judge by events. Were they to say, "*non omnia possumus*," they would be right, because it proves them wrong to persevere, with such glaring incapacity in a misconduct so ruinous as to alarm, so disgraceful as to afflict. But if they go further, be it asked, By what should men be judged? Are not facts proof beyond assertion in every inquest? However we shall suspend  
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the stubborn proof of effects, and come to issue with the Minister on the only ground left him, that of causes. Let us completely develope and ascertain them; it will present us with a picture of our state; by viewing and tracing them through their effects, (upon which I shall touch, not dwell) we shall have as unerring conviction, as almost mathematical demonstration, or a philosophical process could produce, not only of the progression of mischief, but of the source whence it flows; and that source will appear to be a combined object of ambition. The *principle* or *primary cause* of ministerial conduct is, lust of *power* and *prodigality*. They act reciprocally as cause and effect.

As this *combined principle* of *ambition*, which is the primary cause of all the mischief of Administration, made its first advances, and founded its success upon culpability, we should have reasonably expected a catastrophe suitable to the opening of the piece. The false and unwarrantable policy of Mr. Pitt, on his entrance into political existence, by disgracing the Commons, thro' the formal act of the King in dissolving it, and his risking the Monarch in the  
affections

affections of his Commons and the minds of his People, in order to secure Ministerial station, was an act highly criminal, and such as ambition can never plead excuse for. It was an outrage upon principle. For however a Minister may, as a man, risque himself to ruin or ridicule, morality and policy should restrain him from those strides, which involve the innocent. The like conduct is marked by a malignancy of guilt, that calls down retribution in the narrowest circles of civil order.

But it is singular as well as afflicting to contemplate the lust of *power* and *prodigality*, this combined principle of ministerial ambition, systematically labouring for success, upon general ruin, or particular disgrace. Country, friends, and enemies, all are given up as victims to this monstrous principle. For this, the Minister would have disgraced the Parliament; disgraced the Nation in its affections for the King; disgraced his first Protector, Lord Lansdowne; disgraced his rivals—disgraced the Nation in the eyes of an amiable Sovereign and his Family,—disgraced the Monarch, in the eyes of the Nation and of Europe, by foul alarms against  
his

his life, and strained every faculty to disgrace the principal branches of the Family of the Monarch; of which I shall hereafter detail ample proofs. He would have disgraced the Portland Party, he would have disgraced Lord Fitzwilliam, and has succeeded to disgrace \* himself. These last exertions, to give stability to an alarming Administration, do not however disgrace the first operations of its existence. In the dawn of its career, as in the dangers of its decline, lust of power and prodigality form the object and engine of Mr. Pitt's administration. Let us trace this matter.

The dignified lustre of character, which adorns the father of some men, serves but to aggravate the degeneracy of the descendant. An example of illustrious virtue, in this case, proves an ample inheritance of disgrace: and instead of mounting back to it with pride, the successor sinks before it with shame. When Mr. Pitt was first introduced into the political world, by Lord Lansdowne, at so early a period of his life, the lurking gravity of ambition, and a plausibility that hung a veil over his rights to

\* "Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit." SALLUST.

hereditary



hereditary claims, flattered willing expectation. But soon the trust of political confidence was betrayed, and Lord Lansdowne sacrificed for new views. Honoured then with the gracious protection of Majesty, he saw with the eye of overbearing ambition, that the protection of *Self* appeared superior. From expected attachment, and with unsuspecting confidence, his Majesty now reposed upon the Minister. But the Minister, with artful influence and progressive \* duplicity grew up strong under Royal Power, formidable in popular authority, and the *Pleasure* of Majesty was soon overshadowed by the imperiousness of *Self*. The painful discharge of service bearing hard however upon *Self*, and an anxious dread of the loss or participation of power disquieting *Self*, new strength was sought in a servant preferably to a master, and Mr. Dundas was called in. But beneath the humble form of submissive advice, the wily Harry ruled the haughty insolence of the peremptory dictating Mr. Pitt. Soon after this, from a felt deficiency on Harry's part, a Triumvirate of Ben Johnson's school became the Dictators of the Nation;—three

\* Fuchsfart selten gute Art. Artifice is but a bad art.

Lawyers. The Premier formed this select choice upon his adopted principle, that men are to live by their wits as well as by their integrity; and that from Blackstone down, lawyers should hold their talents as engines, that may be fairly exerted for misrepresentation. The men proper to enlighten such a system, when brought into conjunction, soon coalesced into a meteor less dazzling than destructive. Moving in the high orbit of ministerial power, they have possessed it like the Poet's heaven: whence gigantic attempts could not remove Deities the most criminal and condemned. Let us however analyze the claims of these three personages to supreme rule.

The main spring of our Administrative engine is composed of a tripple *Lamina*. The Noble part of this was an untried Lawyer; to whom his Viceroyal \* brother would not commit the duties of a Secretaryship in Ireland. The other was not a successful, perhaps, because an unfledged Lawyer. And the third was a Scotch one; whose good fortune was to have de-

\* It must be confessed that this most Noble personage is fond of occupation: a wheel-barrow full of fusty papers would make him happy, but to send him a cart-load would make him happy beyond measure.

pendent

pended upon his speaking bad English. What education then had Mr. Dundas, or his colleagues for their situation? Here I do not judge by events, I am examining collateral causes aiding and abetting the grand compound principle, or primary cause, of Ministerial mischiefs—lust of *Power*, and *Prodigality*. What education then had Mr. Dundas or his colleagues for their situation?—what knowledge of States; of their relative policy or interests; of the weakness of their rulers, or the strength of their people? None. They found themselves upon the vast ocean of politics without chart or compass. The vessel of the Nation was borne proudly on by the tide of commerce; in the calm of peace it requires no knowledge, no talent to steer it; but in the storm of war—alas! how has it been wrecked under the care of those three ignorant pilots.

Mr. Dundas without even a knowledge of languages, being so thoroughly home bred, that we look upon all the good results of it with pleasure, and *listen* to the bad ones with regret, could not, thus instructed, transact business with foreign Ministers. And therefore

Lord Grenville, whose education was more liberal, was called in, and dubbed Secretary for the Foreign Department. \* As to Mr. Pitt, his University education equalled his talents, but his foreign information and continental experience were gleaned, during a few months study of the French language under a poor Abbé, at Rheims in Champagne.

Such is the analysis of the Administration of Mr. Pitt, as to the political characteristics of its members. And what an enlightened Trio to conduct the affairs of a great Nation, the centre of the commercial world! What steer-mates for the political vessel of Great Britain, lashed by so many storms, loaded with so many burdens, crazy, and scarcely able to keep herself afloat! But so long as peace blesses the Nation, the machine of Government is so wisely ordered that it scarcely requires an hand to guide it. The natural exertions, the vigour, the industry, the order of the Nation need scarcely the fostering hand of a Minister. But in war, his political knowledge, abilities, honesty, and affections are tried. If by war then, by its events, or by the causes of the various  
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and calamitous events before us, these men be tried, who will say that they deserve the confidence of King or people?

But since by their sedulous demurs, they beseech, as it were with anxious deprecation, not to be judged by the contingent or continued misfortune of events, we shall pass over such a view of their incapacity and misconduct, of their duplicity toward the Parliament, of their duplicity toward the King, of their duplicity toward patrons, friends, and enemies. Let them be judged by a candid examination of the primary cause of their system. I shall trace this combined object of their Administration throughout all the departments, bodies, and branches of the State. This may perhaps furnish an explicit answer to their demand; Why they should be removed? It will shew us their dangerous abuse and usurpation of the Royal Patronage, for the purposes of corrupt influence.

*Lust*

*Lust of Power and Prodigality,*

TRACED THROUGH ITS EFFECTS IN ALL

DEPARTMENTS, BODIES, BRANCHES, &c.  
OF THE STATE.

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GENERAL PRELIMINARY VIEW.

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“ Aye while Britannia cries from shore to shore  
“ Augustus reigns; MOECENAS IS NO MORE.” \*

LAMENTABLE to his people, and alarming to himself, is the present state of his Majesty's patronage. Wise men contemplate the results with affliction; ignorant ones murmur insolently over them in resentment. But were power to display its protection over talents and virtue, satisfaction would be diffused throughout the Nation, and its prosperity be promoted. Integrity

\* See an able and learned production, entitled *The Pursuits of Literature*, part II, line 83. The author of this admirable little work, remarks

grity and ability, consolidated by attachment, would, in these moments of peril, form an un-

remarks with his usual sound morality and judgment, "that unless the encouragement of letters be administered with wisdom and discretion, it is more desirable that there were no encouragement whatever:" witness the French Academy during the Monarchy, which proved a bosom for serpents. The administration of Mr. Pitt, stands solemnly charged in both Houses during the last Parliament, for having exercised this province toward productions of the most flagitious and abandoned tendency, in uttering libels against King, Princes, Parliament and Constitution. On the other hand, in "Friendly remarks on Mr. Pitt's administration by a near observer," ascribed to M. Montague, Esq. M. P. the minister stands charged with "a systematic contempt and neglect of all ability and literary talents." "They had no poet, and they died. What then?" says Mr. Pitt: history will speak." "I might proceed," says the author of the Pursuits, "and describe him as *Opum contemptor*: but I conceive POWER and not *Fame* to be the principle of this mighty minister of Great Britain. And though Mr. P. despises money, yet I wish he would give more attention to *economy*, private as well as public. He is deserving of much censure in this respect: he seems to have forgotten what Mr. Burke once told a predecessor of his in the House of Commons, (Lord North) *Magnum est Vectigal Parsimonia*." Thus then does Mr. Pitt appear with the lust of *Power* and *Prodigality* laid to his charge in a work replete with sound sense, policy, and religion.

"Mr. Pitt," says this able writer, "has nothing of Mæcenas but his frog; it was the minister's seal, which during the time of Augustus was annexed to all *Money-bills*. Frogs were one of the plagues of Egypt. Avarice continues he, has no root in Mr. Pitt's mind; but the sin by which the angels fell, rages in him without measure, and without control."

shakable

shakable \* phalanx round the sacred person of their Sovereign and Protector. But it is not so. The Minister has stript his Majesty of even the shadow of patronage. And for what purposes? Is learning encouraged by him, arts promoted, science protected, genius rewarded, merit distinguished, or enlightened † virtue succoured in indigence? No, no! his Majesty's patronage is abused by this usurper, to attach, by the links of corruption, support and power to his own person. For is it not corruption, where instead of the claims of conspicuous merit, or professional service, there appears but a glaring incapacity or venal misconduct? By such acts has the Minister put down Royalty, and exalted himself. Nay, Pitt is now become a God! he wields an omnipotence of corruption, he possesses a political ubiquity, he rules throughout all the departments of the state, he

\* Non exercitus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. SAL.

† Prohis nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam: publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam; inter bonos et malos descrimen nullum: omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. SAL.

presides



presides over all our Ambassadors abroad; playing them as puppets in chains over the face of the globe: he is with our fleets, and with our armies; he is in the castle of Dublin, and he is in the Cockpit at White Hall; he is cracking a bottle and a jest with Mr. Dundas at Wimbledon. Is not Mr. Pitt then answerable for events, being possessed of such Ministerial omnipotence and ubiquity; or having wrested all power and patronage out of the hands of Majesty, has he heard without misgivings, that the favors of Government and dignities of State, are bought and sold to raise sums for corruption? This charge has been proclaimed in the Parliament of Great Britain, and has been urged, and re-urged with offers to substantiate \* it by proof, in the Parliament of Ireland. And shall the First Minister of his Majesty, patronise such crimes and misdemeanors? shall Mr Pitt, learned in the law, suffer so base a violation of the constitution with impunity? let him feel, if not for the State, at least for himself—these crimes now become his own.

\* In the case between the D. of Grafton and Vaughan, argued Nov. 27, 1769, Lord Mansfield's opinion was—"That if any man; " in whom the King puts confidence, or if a Minister takes *money* for " the *use* of that confidence, he basely betrays the King, he basely " betrays his trust."

Thus, my Lord, what his Majesty *could not do*, WOULD NOT DO, for he is an honest man, the Minister has dared to do. What the Constitution and common morality forbid, the all-pure, all-powerfull Mr. Pitt, this Constitutional Dragon who is to watch over our Rights, as a Guardian Angel over our souls, *permits*—I give a limitation to expression. Would that I could set bounds to Ministerial mischief! I shall however to these details of the Lust of Power and Prodigality.

#### THE ARMY.

Since the Administration of Mr. Pitt, however our amiable Monarch has endeavoured by general orders, in respect to age or circumstances, to patronise service, or open a passage for merit, it has too often proved vain. These orders have been ingeniously wrought up even into a barrier against just claims: they have been evaded for Parliamentary favorites, or totally unheeded for unqualified friends. Before his Royal Highness the Duke of York was enabled, by his present station, to stop this torrent of corruption,

tion, striplings got the command of Regiments, and children started up like soldiers from the Dragon's teeth, without any rule of gradation, without either sense or service, to the injury and humiliation of deserving and dishonored Subalterns. The Duke well knew that the great nation of soldiers, and the great military master of that nation, the immortal Frederic, his instructor and friend, did not submit even companies of veteran troops to be commanded by beardless boys.

#### NAVY.

Previous to the appointment of Lord Spencer, the Navy exhibited equal proofs of those hands, in which its patronage and concerns rested. His Lordship resisted, with purity and high spirit, the continuance of Ministerial control meant to be maintained over his jurisdiction. The Minister, with temporising duplicity, gave up the measure, and the man, who was his instrument on this occasion; and in the next interview with his Lordship, he applauded, with all the subtle meanness of machiavelism, this vigorous repulsion of infringement upon his authority. The smile sat insiduously upon

the cheek, while the canker nestled poisonously in the heart. He had found that honor and integrity were not to be imperiously violated, however they may be artfully deluded. And unhappily, the scheme is not without effect; he who deluded Lord Spencer into the Admiralty, if possible deceive \* him out of it.

Would, however, that his Lordship were first to enquire what became of all the naval stores for the wars † with Spain and Russia? These preparations cost the Nation millions, and none of them were forthcoming at the commencement of the present war. Why too did Lord Howe retire? Why did Admiral Barrington refuse a command? Why did Sir John Jervis's noted expedition fail? It were tedious as well as disgusting to trace the answers through the baneful ‡ influence of Ministerial power

\* He has long since directed his battering Journals against the Duke of Portland, as will be stated hereafter.

† Were these wars wisely and considerately undertaken: Why then so rashly abandoned? were they weakly and wickedly undertaken—alas! no room for the imputation of a virtue—upright Administration!

‡ A simple detail of facts has often operated with more power, than all the appeals of reason and eloquence to the head or heart. The tale of an individual has before now crushed an oppressor. I shall



power. And though the deep and *drowsy* gloom, that involved the Admiralty, be now removed, it has still left a chill behind.

shall state the following facts as communicated to me, and as matters generally admitted for truth, but for which I cannot personally vouch. The usurpation of his Majesty's patronage, on the part of Ministers, had proceeded great lengths previous to the period of which we are treating above, and has been dangerously progressive since. The following circumstances may attest this, when his Majesty, for the wisest purposes, wished Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Lynd to make a voyage round the world, many obstacles were started. However he persevered in his purposes, and when Sir Joseph and Dr. Lynd had been at the expence of preparations, and were ready for the undertaking, they found, on examination, the vessels destined for them by the Admiralty so rotten and unfit for the purpose, that the scheme fell totally to the ground.

N. B. The idea had originated with the King.

An Azimuth Compass of considerable merit having been invented and laid before his Majesty, it was afterward offered at the Navy board and rejected.

N. B. It had been previously submitted to the King.

Another instrument was presented to his Majesty and highly approved of by him; he advised the Inventor to take it directly to the Board, and most graciously condescended to give him hints (such as cannot be stated here) to facilitate his success.

N. B. The Board disappointed the King.

Certain cannons cost the Nation for expences, and perquisites in passing the Board of Ordinance, 300l each. A scheme was proposed to serve the Artillery Warren at one third of the cost. It required 10,000l. for materials, furnaces, &c. and the Treasury answered that there was not money for the undertaking. The Proposer replied that there was old metal in the Warren for much more than that sum. But the plan like others fell to the ground.

N. B. It had been approved by the King.

If

If from the superiors we pass to the seamen, a late awful scene presents itself to the mind. However Lord Howe, to whose honor and trust I give full credit, might be uninformed of the murmurs of the Fleet, they had been tolerably loud these two years past. I do not assert this matter glibly, I speak from unerring authority, And if this business were unknown to Administration, their ignorance merits more than public contempt. But if it were known and unheeded, their misconduct is most criminal.

I am far however, very far indeed from supporting the conduct of the seamen, while I condemn that of Administration, on whose part there is, as clearly as the light of day, a dereliction of duty. It was neither common sense, nor common humanity, to treat with heedless scorn, or be ignorant of public causes of complaint existing in the Navy. When a brave and affectionate man, the father of a family, left his wife and children, to face death in defence of his country, was the same pay sufficient to maintain them during his absence, in those iron times as in days of old when

Charles

Charles reigned? To the present Administration do the poor stand indebted for every article of common consumption, being nearly doubled \* within four years: surely then they had a claim on them. Yet the said Administration, who were prodigally squandering millions upon undeserving foreigners † at home and abroad, millions upon undeserving favorites, millions upon the minions of corruption, millions with a prodigality unprecedented ‡ and boundless, were deaf or insensible to the domestic and personal sufferings of the most gallant and glorious race of men that ever adorned

\* We now feel heavily the pressure of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of the new taxes, what shall we feel when the pressure of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions bears upon us!!

† An *Emigré* was sent out as President to St. Domingo, with a salary of 2,500l. per ann. he proved totally unfit for the charge, came back to England and retains his 2,500l. per ann.

‡ It has been remarked by a distinguished Foreigner in this Country, one who has been more than passively initiated into public mysteries, and in the great sanctuary of profusion, Versailles, that the prodigality of administration here far eclipses the most brilliant period of the grand destruction of France. Our Ministers do not fling away gold with one hand, but with both hands: it seems to be the only unity of action amongst them. In other respects, the Departments seem most excellent Christians, and to move according to Gospel rules, that the right hand should not know what the left does, for so completely and unconnected are they as to each others proceedings, that they are usually performing the parts of Logger-heads.

humanity.

humanity. They are an honor to their country, they are an honor to their Creator. The Administration, if viewed beside the British Navy, is like a black mass in a picture that adds brilliancy, force, and character to the heroes of the piece.

They attempt to roll, by the insinuation of their minions, culpability from their own shoulders upon those of the commanders in the Navy—and their next manœuvre is to implore silence. Discretion knows not only where to be silent, but where to speak: it is as conspicuous, if not more so, in an active as in a passive state. As to the first manœuvre, Administration states, that it is impossible a system of mutiny could have been so organised and brought to such perfection without the knowledge of the officers, had they done their duty. But what does this prove, if it be even admitted; nothing, but that the officers were now surrounded by the furies of a flame that a torpid Administration had not extinguished in its birth. A knowledge of *effects* however rapidly communicated to Ministers, could not exculpate them; it is their ignorance, whether real or pretended, and consequent negligence as to the *Causes*,  
which



which renders them criminal. As to their sedulous solicitations for *Silent* discretion, there are bounds between folly and wisdom: but they certainly are not the masters to fix them. Their rapidity of redress, insinuated in their charge of want of duty amongst the officers, is shamefully overturned in the second stage of the dissatisfactions in the Fleet. They may well cry out for silence. For is it not to a most culpable and obvious delay that a repetition of this awful event is due, by Administration not coming forward to obtain a Constitutional ratification of the promise made to the seamen? Such misconduct is irreparable, because its consequences are incalculable: never did the annals of this country record an occurrence so awful.

But it is not only the neglect, the glory of the Navy reflects shame and culpability upon Administration \*. Their crimes increase with the

\* The transactions at the Nore have justly drawn down universal condemnation, and cast a stain upon the character of British seamen. These acts of piracy and outrage have, however, originated with the tools of rebellion, who, with treacherous impiety, menaced to plunge the sword of the nation into its own bowels. But the culpability of Administration throughout this business is prominent and unpardonable. They were solicited day after day, by a person

the triumphs of his Majesty's Fleets; which are exposed by them to combat against such superior numbers, that neither rashness with all its extravagance, nor reason with any right, could expect success.

#### THE CHURCH.

As to the Church, I almost tremble to lay my hand upon the hallowed ark. Who indeed or what can rescue it—since favor and intrigue, under all the auspices of Ministerial power,

of the first weight in their own opinion, and in the estimation of the seamen, to come to Sheerness, and that the matters would be immediately arranged. The Minister, however, delayed an entire week, suffering the disorders to extend and take root during this term of neglect. At last Mr. Pitt went, attended by Mr. Dundas: and again almost two entire days were lost. However, a Board being held, the Delegates were absolutely *forced to sit in Committee* in an adjoining Room; for they were, with a weak *hauteur* upon the part of Ministers, refused personal communication: yet surely, by admission into their presence the seamen would have appeared before them in a very different shape, to that of a Board of Delegates. Ministers thus not only consolidated individuals into strength for deliberation, but gave a species of authority to their new forms, and threw delay and difficulty into the arrangements by adopting, instead of the quickness and perspicuity of oral communication, the tediousness and misapprehension of intercourse by messengers passing from one Board to the other. Of the men also chosen to be messengers of peace, one unfortunately was unpopular amongst the sailors. Where then is the procrastination, the torpor to sound advice, or the blunders of Ministers to end!

have

have seized upon it: but merit and virtue stand in tears, silent, and at a distance. Alas! my Lord, when the Priesthood is trafficked as the barter for corruption, the altar must soon be undermined, and when the altar is undermined, the throne will inevitably fall. Our Civil and Religious establishments are indissolubly united: the stroke, which shocks the one, pervades the other. Shake the duties of morality and Religion by the progress of corruption, you shake obedience to Divine authority; shake Divine authority, and you shake all obedience to human; nay duties are at an end, and all power and authority cease. Thus the Throne and the Temple must be rent together.

How far then Religion, or our establishments in Church and State have been watched over by the Minister, the hosts of French, and the invitation held out for them, by protection, and consolidated Institutions, will best describe. These men have been supported at an enormous expence in a moment of danger to ourselves, of distress to our poor, and of calamity to all.

They consist of two classes, Laymen and Ecclesiastics. Amongst both these descriptions

there are, doubtless, men of high honor, virtue, and integrity. But there is a much larger mass of leaven. As to the Laymen, they are either *bona fide* Nobles and *gens comme il faut*, or *mala fide* adventurers and *gens comme il ne faut pas*. But amongst the Nobles of France, of whatever range, I appeal to the good sense of any Englishman, who knew the country in its best days, were the manners such as he should wish to see imitated in this country? Was their National character however superficially pleasing, or social manners however momentarily attractive, such as he should wish his children, his wife, or his friend to adopt? It is then with all the sincerity of my soul, and bitterness of my heart, that I do perceive the tinge gaining over our National manners. Already our religious and moral sense is corrupted—Heaven grant, that a civil change may not follow. But as to the adventurers amongst these men, they are the outcasts of finished depravity and Parisian abomination.

In respect to the Ecclesiastics, I venerate them for their piety, I pity and would console them amidst their misfortunes: but I do distrust the secret and dangerous influence of their principles and tenets. It has been before  
asked



asked by others if a question of impeachment against the Minister did not arise, from embodying those men in violation of the Constitution and its purposes; for maintaining them at the expence of the State, as in apparent *revival* of the Romish Church; for a public dissemination of Popery in these Realms, by a public protection and support of Seminaries for youth, and Convents for nuns, and Monasteries for monks of the order of Clares \* of Benedictines, Sepulchrians, Austins, and Dominicans?

But of both Laymen and Priests, who knows the political principles? The Minister has clamoured about Jacobins, and amongst those men he has supported thousands †. Let him

\* *Clare* a title descended to the Marquis of Buckingham, the great Protector of these establishments. When his Lordship was Viceroy in Ireland, his carriage publicly graced every Sunday the door of Lazer's Hill Romish Chapel, in the Capital. Query—whom did it convey there? The sight doubtless was edifying; but the ear of the Viceroy might have been assailed with much Constitutional censure. I regard it in a Political not a Religious view: for in the latter, the way is broad enough for us all, whether we journey on, according to the serpentine or direct fashion, we need not interrupt each other, but regard the end. Such is the language from individual to individual. But the voice of a State utters but its laws.

† Government has been highly blamed by Foreigners, (as well as by Englishmen) who had a thorough knowledge of the French here. It was asserted by a gentleman amongst the former, a man of high character

him compare his conduct with Plato's policy, or Mæcena's advice to Augustus, who mixed much severity with his remarks, on the subject of receiving Foreigners and allowing them residence.

As to the Religious principles of Laymen and Ecclesiastics, the concurring circumstances of the times should have cautioned the Minister to pay more attention to the Church and State. For never was there a moment, when morality was in such danger from foreign examples dazzling and deceiving us, not only from abroad, but at home. Common reflection must have remarked that the levity of the French Nation had an influence upon their civil institutes, and formed a sanction for a violation of

character, that he could point out 200 who were to have departed for Ireland in order to join the French had they succeeded: he mentioned also several clubs, and pointed out individuals who were leaders of them. He was above the meanness of intrigue, or of acting as a low informer; he declared his sentiments openly, and had Government called on him, he was ready to come forward: but being a stranger, he conceived he had no right till called upon. But it is now too late. It is notorious that there are French Agents and Commissaries here this moment, who are so bold as to give passports to numbers: and that there are declared Carmagnols, who boast of their exploits in France. What then is Administration about? Where are these vociferating guardians with their mouths full of words and their hands void of deeds!

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the sacred laws of Religion. Hence followed the dissolution of the State. For if the grand centre of duty be shaken, must not every moral bar that bears from it be disturbed? Excuse the repetition, but I urge it, with a force of moral conviction as strongly impressed upon my mind as any mathematical axiom, that if Religious authority be naught, civil obedience is no more. We must then indeed deplore the levity of French \* manners and the licence of the French religion, concentrating into a sanction that influences, depraves, and must finally endanger this Nation. But when the Minister beholds the altar thus hollowed under, when he has seen the throne of France swallowed thus in an abyss, his boldness becomes admirable for its audacity, when he demands, on what charges should Administration be removed? Has not the destructive policy of the Minister introduced as models for gross copies

\* French manners have now familiarized the British eye to Sunday Routs, and the public ear to Sunday Concerts. The houses of those whose elevation lifts them high for the observation of those beneath, yet to their shame be it repeated, the houses of those exemplary classes, who should be the guardians and instructors of the low, and unenlightened, are filled by the giddy tribes of fashion within, and are surrounded by unthinking crowds of people, without, whose sense of duty is lost in that of pleasure. Time was, when an indignant people would have risen against a scandalous violation of the sabbath by public concerts in contempt of the laws of God and the country

amongst

amongst the people, the imitators of the voluptuous Regent, and of the immoral Louis XV.? Has he not beckoned to our shores these locusts that have desolated Versailles—men who shook the throne by their vices, and deserted their King through cowardice—creatures that would dishonor the offscourings of humanity? Has not the Minister opened a door by his undistinguishing protection, to men of atrocious and revolutionary principles? Has he not by permitting, nay by sanctioning and fostering, established the Popish Religion in violation of the Constitution. Has he not promoted in so much the downfall of our Religious Government? has he not promoted consequently the dissolution of the civil Estates; has he not promoted unequivocally therefore the depravity of all moral, and the danger of all \* social affections? and has not this Administration to crown all these crimes, without remorse or shame demanded, Why they should be removed?

\* The tone of social intercourse in France was such as every wise and honest man must deprecate.



## LAWS.

That power and injustice cannot long dwell together is the spirit of the history of Nations. It was the beginning and will be the end of Revolutions.

When institutions salutary in their source become destructive by perversion, they are like a well formed instrument in the hand of an assassin. Mankind take alarm, they rise against the murderer, and wresting the weapon from his hand, some weakly, others wickedly, give way to horror and vengeance, destroying both criminal and instrument. We should, however, wisely distinguish between persons and things, between the corrupt measures of men and the sound source of their authority. For ought the Constitution to be torn up, root and principle, though Mr. Pitt were culpable of an attempt to overturn, by a new code of laws, Magna Charta, or the Bill of Rights? Surely not! Suppose him even guilty upon his suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, his Sedition and Treason Bills, &c.—the Constitution however is not criminal. And any act against the Constitution on this account, were an outrage on

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the innocent, to punish the atrocity of the guilty.

Administration, it is true, has endeavoured to make this Constitution a *Felo de se*, by a most base violation of all Law in a sister Kingdom. I shall hereafter detail these matters, but shall only state at present, that so flagrant is this outrage upon Law and Constitution, that men of the first \* character, rank, and property in Ireland, who had in those times ranged themselves around the throne, have in consequence of this conduct, withdrawn themselves solemnly from all connection with the Government.

But shall we turn our eyes toward home, and contemplate that great pillar of the Law

\* It is curious to observe, as a barometer that marks the weight and pressure of Ministerial influence, the Journals. The Minister corrects and cures all mistakes in them by a *touch*. In a late morning paper the Duke of Leinster's succession was honestly deplored, on account of his character and consequence. The next day, in the same paper, the tone changes, and his Grace is painted as a most graceless being in a green cravat, disgracing all grace, Ducal or Royal, in divesting himself of the sky blue ribband of St. Patrick. Let us however be just. The Duke is so far from being what is here insinuated, hostile to the constitution, that he took a formal leave, and for ever, of one of his dearest relatives, on a similar charge to that shamefully levelled at himself.

standing

standing sublimely venerable in an insulated state; the meaner parts of the edifice, which it formerly graced and supported, being now employed for and devoted to base purposes. I speak of Lord Thurlow: who withdrew himself from the misdeeds of the Minister: who, would not permit his Majesty to be basely plundered by the sale of the forests, in order to enrich the friends of the Minister: who with honesty and affection for his Royal Master, spurned the attempt, scorned the proposer, withdrew and looked down since with contemptuous dignity upon his treacherous and puny politics. However, with the feelings of a Patriot, he has often given Administration hints of public utility. But they are deaf as the adder, which smarting under its own venom, flings itself to death. What avails then all the poison of their venal pens against him! A lion shakes the dew drops from his mane. But

Non eget Mauri, &c. &c.

That such a man, and at such a moment as the present, is absent from his Majesty's Council, and removed from the great tribunal of equity is a National loss. Few men, my Lord, add

sublimity to decision, like Lord Thurlow, by an integrity as elevated as his wisdom is profound.

It is with pain I perceive it industriously insinuated, that a cause lately before the Courts was a public attack, in consonance with the spirit of the times, to break down the distinctions of established order. This was consequently a species of constructive sedition, and therefore a fit object for Administration to sound forth their vigilance, by creating an alarm upon. This accusation, however, against the Licentiates in Physic, a body of valuable men, respectable for their integrity, learning, and humanity, is in itself absurd. Because according to this very statement, these medical democrats, so called, attempt to aristocratise themselves, that is, to obtain the dignity of Fellows of the College of Physicians, instead of being Licentiates. It was the case of Dr. Stanger, on the part of the Licentiates † to obtain a Mandamus for

\* How impolitic the policy of Administration to incense against them, in those times, a body of men so numerous, and so enlightened, accustomed to habits of deep reflection and active advice.

† See an able work of Dr. Ferris's on the Incorporation of the College of Physicians.

examination



examination and admission to be a Fellow of the College, agreeable to the Charter. This was climbing up by merit to elevation, and not pulling down the higher orders to equality. So far the charge against these gentlemen is false,

This case is of infinite importance to the public, not only as the concern of a profession in which the community has the closest interests, but in its new shape of a political question. The Licentiates have been irritated and murmur loudly. The influence of the Medical Body over public opinion is powerful,

I sincerely respect Lord Kenyon for his principles as a man, and uprightness as a judge. The maxim upon which he founded his decision is perfectly consistent with wisdom and integrity—that the interests of a Body are not to be sacrificed to the convenience of individuals. No principle is more just, no moral axiom more wise. But in support of this principle I must observe, that Dr. Stanger has throughout this business represented the Body against individuals, a Body of between 100 and 150 Licentiates against about 24 acting individuals

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individuals of the College: that he represented not only the Licentiates in the personal Rights of the Body, but the public in the legal Rights of the community at large. For, says Lord Mansfield, “ it is not only the candidate himself who has a right, but the public also have “ a right to his services, and that not only “ as a physician, but as a *censor*, as an *elect*, “ as an *officer* in the offices to which he would, “ upon admission, become eligible”. Such is the opinion of Lord Mansfield on the case of the Licentiates. Now, my Lord, whether or not, admissibility to a Fellowship of the College of Physicians be limited to the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, let us, with due respect to the judgment of Lord Kenyon, hear the opinions of Lord Mansfield, Lord Thurlow, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Justice Yates and Mr. Justice Aston.

This limitation contended for by the College, owed its birth and strength to their own bye laws. All the power, which they possess for this and every other purpose whatever as a Body, proceeds from their charter. This charter was granted by Henry the Eighth, in compliance with the prayer of six Physicians, of whom the greater number were graduates  
of

of Padua, and *all* of them *Foreign* graduates. It utters no partial advantage, prescribes no exclusive claims, but commands that *all* discreet and learned Physicians residing in London be admissible. Four years after the date of this Charter, it was confirmed by Act of Parliament, and new privileges conveyed to the College, but without any exclusive requisite for admission. The Statute Book both exhibits various other Acts of Parliament relative to the College, but all of them are silent on any charge as to the forms of admission. The charters granted also by James the First, and Charles the Second, exhibit equal evidence that the original claims remain, from the time of Henry the Eighth, unaltered as to admission. But when James the First had come from Scotland, many Physicians having followed the Court, whose abilities raised them to eminence, opulence, and power, the jealousy of the College was awakened, and the bye-laws framed that limited the *Right* of artificial elevation to Oxford and Cambridge. But what says Lord Mansfield to such bye-laws? " They are *narrow* and " **ILLEGAL**, and would not admit even " a Boerhave; " (Dr. Fothergill's case, 1771) " that there are many amongst the Licentiates " who would do honor to the College, or any " Society

“ Society of which they should be members,  
 “ by their skill and learning, as well as other  
 “ valuable and amiable qualities \*. If this  
 “ be so, how can any bye-laws, which exclude  
 “ the *possibility* of admitting *such* persons into  
 “ the College, stand with the trust reposed  
 “ in them of *admitting all that are fit.*”

In the case of Dr. Letch, Mr. Justice Aston, speaking of the charter as confirmed by the XIV of Henry the VIII, says “ That the makers of this Act looked upon those residing in London to be members of the College:” and concluded that if the College refused to examine a Candidate, a Mandamus would lie.

In the case of the Licentiates against the Censors, Mr. Justice Yates’s opinion on the plea of *Usage*, (on which the bye-laws found their strength) was,—“ *Usage* only applies “ where the *construction* is *doubtful*. Here “ the *construction* is not *doubtful*.” Nothing can be more explicit.

\* The eulogy so liberally bestowed upon Dr. Stanger, by Lord Kenyon was in substance the above.



It has been also maintained by Lord Thurlow and Mr. Dunning \* " that it is not in the  
 " power of a corporation to contravene the  
 " fundamental principles of their constitution.  
 " They cannot *narrow* the number of those,  
 " out of whom the election is to be made.  
 " They cannot *super-add* qualifications *not*  
 " *mentioned* in the Charter: they cannot make  
 " a *bye-law* *contrary* to its *intention*." Now  
 my Lord, whether these six *Foreign Graduates*,  
 in the time of Henry VIII, got a Charter, and  
 afterward an Act of Parliament, to embody  
 themselves as a College, and to *exclude* them-  
 selves from the College, is abundantly evident  
 to common sense, as well as in the Charter,  
 in the Act of Parliament confirming the Charter,  
 and in these high and legal authorities before  
 cited.

\* The handsome compliment paid the other day to the memory  
 of Mr. Dunning, by Lord Kenyon, in acknowledging some assistance  
 which he had received from his notes, is highly pleasing to the hu-  
 man mind. But that his Lordship in the case of the Physicians, two  
 days before, fell upon the eulogy of Judge Jefferies, and while a  
 cause, that had assumed a political complexion, was before him, I  
 indeed regret. As much as I respect Lord Kenyon for his honesty,  
 I abhor Judge Jefferies for his abandoned corruption. The decisions  
 of predecessors are strong evidence of the law, but not the venal no-  
 tions of a wretch stigmatized into immortality by the pens of all ho-  
 nest writers. Let any man read the trial of Algernon Sidney, and  
 say if Jefferies was not a villain? How great a subject is here for some  
 historic pencil!

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In

In Mr. Erskine's able exertions upon this occasion, as advocate for the College, every part of his eloquent and elaborate speech was to be admired, but there are only two points in it to be answered. Mr. Erskine stated from the affidavit of the President, that Licentiates are by their admission bound to obey the statutes, or readily pay the fines imposed for disobedience. Granted. But then Mr. Erskine cannot plead an *estoppel* to their claim for examination and admission, because a bye-law subsists (if a law without authority can subsist) against them. No, the Licentiate breaks the bye-law, readily pays the mulct for breaking it, and finds ample restitution in the recovery of his chartered Rights. There then is no *estoppel*.

When Lord Mansfield shook, by the thunder of his judgment, the *Illegality* of the proceedings of the College against the Licentiates; alarmed, the Fellows employed the best Lawyers to frame the best bye-laws they could, to preserve their monopoly for them. But no devices are sufficiently strong to perpetuate injustice, or elude the great principles of right. Mr. Erskine however, under the sanction of this seemingly legal authority, defended the exclusion

clusion complained of, because the two bye-laws for that purpose were framed under the auspices of Lord Camden, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Dunning, and another person whom he would not name. But if that person be Lord Kenyon, or any other of the judges in that Court, or any other Court, it matters not. Mr. Erskine acted with becoming delicacy toward the Judge, if he sat there in judgement upon his own bye-law, and proved his address for his clients, in not naming him. However I shall foil the ingenuity of the Advocate, while I respect the liberality of the Gentleman, by shewing that neither Mr. Erskine's avowed nor nameless authority were any strength to his cause. The Lawyers employed by the College to revise and frame the Bye-Laws, certainly fulfilled their trust with all the ability the case could admit of, as well as Mr. Erskine in stating their act as authority. But surely the ablest exertions of the ablest Lawyers do not constitute the legality of their causes. If so, perjury, robbery, murder, all the acts of horror and flagitious crime are legal. No! Mr. Erskine feels in his own virtues that they are far from being justifiable, though in his profession they are defensible.

But if we pass from common Law, to common Reason, how stands this business in its view? It beholds a society of wise and learned men issue forth a rule, that in order to deserve (for I suppose, otherwise they would not obtain) the distinctions of Physical merit, the candidates great claims must be a limited education, to the two most inconsiderable medical schools in Europe. And therefore because the immortal Sydenham did not come from those schools, had he no claims? No, surely for he was excluded; likewise Sloane, likewise Mead, likewise Pringle, likewise Akenfide, likewise Fothergill, and even Hunter, to whom all these men of *exclusive merit*, resorted for instruction. To what absurdities does the error of little passions, entering into great social and moral systems, reduce mankind. But beside, my Lord, there is danger in this business. When virtue and wisdom have no public security for their rewards, it is not merely professional dignity that is endangered, but the community at large, But beside this personal loss to a body of eminent men, their public character is wounded by Administration and *its Minions*, charging them with levelling principles, and casting out against them that the first great movers of the French Revolution were Physicians.

I know



I know that this charge will not end here. They have attacked men of thought and action.

The decision of Lord Kenyon, in respect to their professional claims, has such weight with me, that did I not find in his head and heart such a contradiction to it, I should say, Descend my Lord from the bench, since merit and integrity can come only from Oxford and Cambridge. But if Lord Kenyon adorned with virtues and endowed with abilities be justly entitled to the honors of judicial elevation, why then by a parity of reasoning, are Oxford and Cambridge to be the sole fountains for Medical distinction? I really apprehend that his Majesty's other Universities of Edinburgh, Dublin, and Gottingen, as also the Universities of Leyden and Vienna, are as much superior to them for the one, as an Attorney's office, conveyancers, &c. for the other.—What then, my Lord, is it for Oxford and Cambridge alone that such high \* allurements are requisite to win them into merit and virtue? The distinction might be invidiously

\* This were a gilt pill indeed. As to the one displayed over the College, I refer the reader to a poem full of imagery and satire just published, on this occasion, entitled the *College*.

interpreted

interpreted into a dishonourable imputation on them. Or is it solely from the bosoms of these two seats of learning such transcendent merits and virtue can issue as deserve this honor and elevation?

Common law is common sense: otherwise it were a dangerous folly: for according to law itself, there is but one line between wisdom and idiotism. If therefore common law be not common sense, how dangerous, how pernicious is the evil which is to regulate the actions and decide upon the dearest interests of men. Far then be from us the decay of English law, and long may there be found amongst us such bold assertors of it as the venerable Chambre, who in his case roused the attention of all, as with an electric shock, when he warned the Court of its decline. Alas! my Lord, when we hear a voice almost prophetic, and under all the influence, I may say, of the very oracle of the law, speak thus, we naturally look in such a case toward Administration. But what do we discover? A protecting shield as dropt from Heaven? No, no! we turn aside with horror as from the terrors of a Gorgon's head.

But

But where, my Lord, where are these men driving the interests of their master and his subjects? They have brought us to the brink of a precipice, and are yet wickedly spurring on.

But however awfully absolute the Minister may reign over some departments, like a king of terrors, whose nod is fearfully powerful, there is, thank Heaven, still in the country at large, a strong pulse of loyal attachment to King and Constitution. It is not an intermitting, feverish affection, but a steady, sober principle of the heart, terminable with existence.

#### LETTERS.

We have already considered, in some measure, the conduct of Mr. Pitt on this point, in a general view, preceding the detail of departments (page    ). In order, however, to appreciate the danger of such neglect of virtuous talents, let us view the result of a like system in France. But if to the neglect of virtuous talents, we add the encouragement given to literary vice against Royalty and Monarchy, a measure beyond the depravity of French, but not of English Ministers, as I shall state in its proper

proper place, what then may be the fate of this country !

Louis XVI. reposed, with a benignant confidence, upon the bosom of his Ministers; but they, prodigal and ambitious, distinguished themselves publicly by lavish corruption and power, and sunk privately upon the voluptuous lap of pleasure and indulgence. Their trusts were not diffused amongst subaltern branches of virtue, honour, and talents; they were lavished upon favour, sold upon credit, or prostituted to intrigue. Where then was the need of merit? Whether or not men of letters \*, knowledge, and integrity, are in the departments of a Government, by whose experience and opinions the Administration is guided, may be well ascertained. It is a moral and political principle, and inevitably true, that when wisdom and virtue preside over a State, the Minister will be honest, the Judges

\* By this is not meant a mere scholar; though as such, a man has a claim to encouragement. But the man of letters, &c. here is a man prepared for the present by a knowledge of the past; and who judges of the future by the comparison of both, who acts in the world under this threefold combination, and is so perfectly master of his object, as to suit his means to his ends. This is a man of letters, or, in other words, a man of knowledge as to men and things, by study and reflection on the dead and the living:

upright



upright, the Clergy exemplary and pious, the Army disciplined and obedient, and every subject content with his situation, will fulfil the duties of it, and not wish to transgress them. Such indubitably is the condition of men and nations, when talents are patronised and virtue exalted. This is a practical and political touchstone, not a speculative and philosophical chimera. Perfection, I most readily grant, is but beyond the grave: indeed the very spirit of innovation recognises the principle, for it stops not but at the tomb. There is then certainly a progression to perfection. But in Britain, our politics are in retrogradation. There is, however, a flame at this moment, which arose, as it were by the order of Heaven, to instruct Lawgivers. In this Country, as of old, may it enlighten, and not consume!

In France, the Ministers accelerated the ruin, by prostituting the powers of royalty. Their haughtiness, insults, and neglect, roused the enlightened part of the Nation, who like a torch beaming upon a black mass, discovered the deep shade of their enormities. The people had felt the bloody hand of Ministerial ambition, and the iron gripe of power and prodigality had bowed them to the earth; but

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they had not hitherto reflected. Warmed while illuminated by talents of an higher order, their spirits joined in the collision, and the nation was in a flame. To contemplate the effects without awe, were not to be a man. Characters of fire, in the expanse of heaven, could not work more upon the soul than the blood of the innocent that cries to us from the earth.

Would that the benevolent Louis had given way to these impulses, which influenced him from nature, or had not resigned into other hands those powers that he possessed from Royalty. But hence was he deserted, hence became a victim, hence because he did not cement by affections to his person men of talents and virtue, who in his security had found honour, and their own preservation.

In this country, however, the physical and moral tone is different: men pause more upon their actions, and give more reflection to their thoughts. Their mental discrimination is as strong and enlarged as their spirit of moral feeling. They give, with wise distinction, to Majesty all his merit, as they will to the Minister all his due.

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The gracious influence of royal patronage and protection is turned by him from the channel of merit to the sink of corruption. In the moment of awful expectation, when the venerable piles of Monarchy are disfigured and defaced, and are menaced by storms from around; when the throne and the altar are invaded; no powerful Phalanx of virtuous talents is formed to rally round these sacred ensigns of political and moral happiness. Merit is neglected in the Army, Navy, Church, Law, Letters, Science, and the Arts.

Throughout all these, as far as it is in the power of Administration, virtue and wisdom are incensed: the attachment of the subject is shaken, and every feeling of loyalty for King and Government, endangered. How disgraceful is the duplicity of ingratitude! By the very hand, which his Majesty honoured with the means and confidence of cementing his people's love, is he stabbed in the tenderest point—the hearts of his people, and their affections for his children. Were it not sufficient for the lust of power and prodigality to rob the presumptive Heir to the Crown of his \*

\* This transaction will be given in full, under its proper head, when considering the case of the Royal Family.

fortune, and his just rights, but that calumny must be called forth from its den of obscurity, to rob him of the honour of a gentleman, and the virtues of a man. Shame upon the foul fiend! But, my Lord, every power had been exerted to disgrace the Duke of York, every art employed to keep out the Duke of Clarence, every engine put to work to disgrace the Prince of Wales, and all patronage wrenched from the hand of Majesty to be turned against itself—like the serpent's sting against the bosom of its protector. What will not the designing depravity of subaltern, selfish ambition undertake!

#### THE ARTS.

Here indeed all the meed of gratitude is due to his Majesty, whose patronage of the Arts forms a bright contrast to the black neglect of the Minister. Millions are corruptly squandered by the servants of the Crown to support their power, but not a pound is devoted to promote industry and the Arts, and wisely give occupation to the poor. The utility and profit of the Arts are incalculable, by whose process the basest metal  
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out-rivals the most valuable ore. What too are the wonders of art, and how grateful in their progress and results to a mind well formed! By its industry the rags of misery are collected, by its process they are decomposed, by its skill they are reproduced in a new form, and become the vehicle of genius, the depository of Laws, the faithful communicator of fond affections from pole to pole. By the arts the canvass breathes, and heroes live again to transfuse into posterity \* the love of high deeds and elevation of virtuous souls. By such touches is the coarsest remnant of more worth than its weight in sterling gold. But where or when have Administration applied their fostering hand to such noble purposes. Let them consider these productions as even articles of trade and commerce, and how shameful their neglect. Alas! my Lord, compare the facts before stated under the head of *Navy*, to one which I shall add here, and then judge if it be for the good of the subject, that his Majesty's patronage is imperiously usurped by Ministers, under the plea of POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY.

\* "Cum Majorum imagines tuerentur vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi." Sal.

A Clergy-

A Clergyman with a large family and little means, in Bedfordshire, had a son, who shewed extraordinary talents in drawing. The father, uninstructed upon such matters, prudently conceived the idea of bringing the lad and his productions to town, in order to consult some man of professional eminence. He fixed on Mr. West, the present President of the Academy. Pleased with those juvenile efforts, in which Mr. West discovered the seeds of genius, he advised the youth to be apprenticed to the first engraver in town. He undertook the arrangement of the business himself, and informed the anxious father some time after that he had at length made, what he deemed, good terms for him. But the poor clergyman honestly confessed to him, that he might as well undertake to pay so many thousands as the hundreds required, for both were beyond his means. Mr. West on some reflection, advised him to send the book containing the lad's essays to the different noblemen and gentlemen residing in his opulent neighbourhood, with a plan to lay open the purpose, in hopes of accomplishing the matter by subscription. The President opened it himself with an handsome donation. Necessity is an imperious master: it conquers the finest feelings; the plan was adopted.

adopted. But with grief, with shame from a sensibility for others, do I relate it, this humiliating step proved abortive. Lord Harcourt alone stepped generously forward. The poor Father in about a year's time, or somewhat more, returned to Mr. West to detail to him his mortification and disappointment. Mr. West immediately bethought himself of another resource, and conceived the idea of applying to a less elevated class. He asked this respectable simple man if he had any acquaintance in town?—No, he replied, he knew nobody—well, said the President, we'll try commercial generosity. And the book and plan were left at a stocking-shop in Oxford street, where in about one weeks time the subscription was nearly completed by the shopkeepers of the neighbourhood. At this moment Mr. West was called to Windsor: and in order to entertain his Majesty, took the book containing the boy's productions with him. The King examined them with delight, asked Mr. West where was the boy, who was the boy, what was his father—Mr. West informed his Majesty, he was the son of a poor clergyman, who not being able to pay the premium demanded with him as an apprentice to an engraver, he had conceived the idea of raising  
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it by subscription, but that after a years useless application for that purpose in Oxfordshire, he was now trying to accomplish it in town.—And have you succeeded?—No, Sir, replied the President.—Then I'll pay it myself said the King. And had it been the entire sum that was deficient, this virtuous and amiable Sovereign had at that moment advanced it, as he did the sum required.

Quick in apprehension as the Minister is, he might collect from hence the charge against him. He has usurped power without right, in order to do wrong. But that he stands not only under the guilt of omission, but under crimes of commission, I shall refer to the state of commerce for further proof.

#### COMMERCE.

It is not to the testimony of party I turn to substantiate this charge, it is to the unequivocal evidence of the revenues, and of the state of the manufactures. From North to South does dying Commerce lift up its broken voice and cry to the Throne against the Minister. In Yorkshire, the Clothiers are starving silently, or murmuring awfully.



awfully. In Lancaster \* trade is flunned, and can scarcely keep itself afloat. In Nottinghamshire, nought but calamity and complaints are uttered. In Somersetshire, the murmurs and anger are equally loud. In Birmingham†, the palaces of trade (if I may so call them), are now huge dreary piles like melancholy monuments for the departed. And in the capital, impartial and dispassionate men are full of bodings.

#### DIPLOMATIC DEPARTMENT.

My Lord, however dull this detail, the subject is important. I shall endeavour to be brief, but hope to fully establish my point, that lust of power and prodigality is the principle upon which the present ministers act, and upon which his Majesty and Parliament ought to render both present and future ministers incapable to act.

\* Men who formerly received 30,000*l.* *per ann.* from the profits of the Cotton Trade, will not this year benefit one farthing.

† Wretchedness and depopulation mark this place formerly so animated by trade—the persons who brought home weekly to their families from one guinea to a guinea and an half, cannot have employment to produce more than three shillings.

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In no instance can stronger proof present itself of the abuse of royal power for the ministerial purposes of corruption at home, and ambition abroad, than in the diplomatic department. All the foreign ministers, from the first ambassador down to the humblest secretary of the lowest *chargé d'affaires*, is the puppet of Mr. Pitt. If he move in the forward line of haughty decision, or in the curved one of dexterous duplicity, Mr. Pitt plays the wires. To resist this were to be disgraced, in opinion, if not in fact. And as it is abhorrent from every great and good purpose of the diplomatic institution, we may not be astonished at such effects before us, proceeding either from men whose minds are constituted for servility and submission, or from an administration so unwise, arbitrary, and uninformed. In all the history of diplomatic nature, no such creature has yet appeared as the present administration: it is really a monster, a *non descript* in the classes of negotiation.

The extraordinary mission of Mr. Wickham to Basle, to negotiate and not negotiate, is a species of fungus issuing from the Diplomatic Body. As to Lord Malmesbury's mission, it  
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is one of a more enlarged nature. Let the reader, however, sift his Lordship's letters—so delicate in praise—so pure in sentiment—so refined and so very *extraordinary*—and then say is not this administration, even to its subordinate parts, \*unequalled. With all the deference, however, due to the delicacy and high authority of this public approver, I shall beg leave to say, that, in the diplomatic line, his Majesty has been grossly insulted and his Empire endangered. He is, in this department, not only stripped of all patronage at home, but ill served and brought into peril from abroad. To the minister alone all blame, on this head, attaches: he rules it despotically: and the recommendations of Royalty are not only unheeded in the appointments, but have proved a bar to the success of merit. The minister must have his own men, and the crown no creature attached to it. The time-serving supporters of corruption, the Parliamentary Panders of Ministerial vice, supersede Royalty,

\* Lord Malmesbury's expensive tour to Paris was an act of deception, insincere in its object, and double in its means. Its true end was to obtain the Loan by duplicity toward this nation and duplicity toward France; the latter saw through the perfidy, and dismissed the Ambassador with contempt.

which has an extensive right, and sacred interest in all diplomatic appointments. But Merit, in all its walks and ways, is trampled upon by the minister, and particularly if attached to royalty; a claim thus supported, though founded upon the broadest basis of recommendation, which is moral and diplomatic character, were a bar to employment. Thus with ignorant and incapable men abroad, and with a self-sufficient, ambitious, and prodigal minister at home, that a government, however solidly constituted, tremble in all its parts, if it split not to the centre, is not surprising.

We behold virtue and talents rejected and incensed on the one hand, and insulted and oppressed on the other. Let us recur to example :

Amongst those charged with our interests at foreign courts, there is a man, whose penetration borders upon intuition, and whose inferences are the sound result of comprehensive combinations. Such was his sagacity as to anticipate even the subtlety of Frederic, and such the liberality of that monarch, though foiled by, he was attached to, him.  
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This gentleman, with respectful fortitude and wisdom, that added a new ray to the lustre of England, exhibited an example unknown before, unparalled since, and perhaps never to be equalled, at least, during the reign of our present Ministers.

In a moment of critical importance, he sought out the Sovereign of a great people, and found him, after long search, in a block house, giving orders in person for his Navy. He instantly addressed him with manly respect and said,—that he came, as a citizen of Britain, to demand of his Majesty the high deposit of his crown, in trust for some days, and that he would restore it to him more honourable and brilliant than he received it.—Such was the tone of dignified elevation—it is that attempered sentiment of fortitude, which virtue heightens and wisdom softens. And he did so—he served his country materially; and for this, is now, in some sort, degraded. He who gave an example of glory above the hope of ambition; who raised a private \*citizen

\* This was the crime—though had he suffered the least delay by acting according to the routine of Envoys, by sending dispatches and waiting for instructions, and all the trammels of Ministerial formality, the object had been lost with the opportunity.

of Britain, that bends the knee in willing duty to his Sovereign, for a time above the level of Foreign Kings; this man is now sunk, with all his wisdom and integrity, into a monument of eternal shame, to record the *selfish ambition*, the haughty *jealousy*, the imperious power and *punishment* of Ministers. If Mr. Pitt, amidst such circumstances of reproach, can pretend to be the patron of Britain and its glory, there is then an insolence beyond the crime of treachery, which stands forward amidst hardened ingratitude toward King and people.

#### THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

I shall not enter into the causes of the war; it is a question of infinite discussion, that has been ably handled by others. My object is a brief detail of prominent facts, as evident as the truth of nature, to shew your lordship the mal-administration of his Majesty's ministers.

It were beyond the limits of this letter to follow the uninterrupted chain of misconduct from the beginning of the war to the present day.

day. This misconduct evidently arose from ignorance or incapacity; for if the sinews of war be money, no minister ever possessed larger means, none was more prodigal of them, and none ever less successful. We have purchased disaster upon disaster, at the expence of 178,422,266l. and are loaded with an interest of 7,615,466l. on the unfunded part only of this debt. Let common sense reflect upon this!

• The principle adopted for the conduct of the war was not only prodigality but a lust of power, which tied up the hands of our generals, insomuch that it was dangerous to an extreme. The spirited prowess of our armies has however often succeeded. But again, the effects of a negligent administration have often contributed to defeat them. But beside this shackling lust of power, beside this imperious negligence, beside a plan of war equally destructive, their prodigality often purchased but death for our gallant soldiers. Many a valiant fellow has perished by the vile temper of these arms, furnished by some favoured contractor, and formed consequently for the purpose of filling his purse,

purse, rather than of defending the lives of our brave troops.

If the war were necessary, and as far as written documents, local information in the countries at war, and personal knowledge of men as well as things, can direct an opinion, I do believe the war was necessary; but the plan and conduct of it are, beyond all doubt, most highly to blame. It is the general opinion of all parties, both within, and without the House of Commons. The numberless petitions to remove the Minister, declare the sense of the nation on this subject, and as to the sense of Parliament, Mr. Burke says, that "Opposition have the opinion of the House, the Government its Votes\*." In this general opinion of the misconduct of the war, the weight of censure falls wholly upon the Minister, on account of his principle, plan, and negligence. No blame whatever attaches to any of the commanders.

\* This distinction reminds me of a Jew at Frankfort, who, on being asked by a stranger what was the difference between the coins of the late and present King of Prussia, desired him to look at the reverse—one was all head, the other all body.—Opposition with the opinion, Government with the votes.



The Duke of York gallantly executed whatever was committed to him, and his failure at Dunkirk was owing to a criminal negligence on the part of administration. The pens, however, and the tongues prostituted to the minister did not fail to asperse his character. The reason was obvious. They wished to have a man, upon whom they might roll, with impunity, all the load of their errors, ignorance, and misconduct, upon whom they might fix all the ridicule, odium, and ruin of their precipitate steps. A royal character, therefore, did not suit them, but some solitary subject, some private figure, whom they might recal from the public scene when they pleased, and in recompence for his obedience, and in refusal of his merits, sacrifice him, without a murmur, to their crimes. In the first instance of the war, was not the plan, which, however, saved Holland solely by the spirit of the Duke and the guards, a plan of egregious folly on the part of the minister. It seemed almost a determined intent to offer up the Duke and his gallant comrades as victims to their purposes of removing him from power by any means. Nothing saved this brave handful of our men, but that impatient thirst of ambition which

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hurried Dumourier from the Meuse toward the Rhine. But what knowledge had Administration of the proceedings or progress of the Armies in Germany at that moment, upon which they could have relied for their steps in Holland? They remained in such profound ignorance of the movements of the German troops long after this period, that they were indebted to even private individuals, who were not military men, for plans and opinions of the operations. And if we pass to the affair of Toulon, it was a golden opportunity lost, that perhaps no future tide of time will present to this country.

As to that egregious act of misconduct, the pivot upon which misfortune turned, the siege of Dunkirk, the Minister's friends say, that the object was, to please the people by taking a Sea Port. Could not these masters in machiavelism be warned in their military operations by a trite maxim in politics—*Divide et Impera*.—Why then weaken the concentrated force of the victorious allies? But the Ministers friends have again said, and do still maintain that the Duke of York might have taken the town. Falsehood is a base mask for misconduct. The ardor of the Duke and the spirit of his troops were high, and impeachable only for excess of gallantry in doing too much, however the French Commander

mander or the Ministerial advocates may assert that he ought to have done more and taken the town. All that man could do, was done by him: but all that negligence could omit, was left undone by administration. Our brave fellows came with animation to the charge—but where was the promised ordnance? Where the promised gun-boats? They were all, where they should not have been. But our soldiers rushed on with all the impetuosity of courage and had been sacrificed to their ardor, had it not been for the military skill and masterly retreat commanded by the Duke of York. Then let the Minister and his minions blush at their tale of calumny\*, so industriously disseminated.

\* What could not be effected by acts, has been attempted by words: the master stroke to disgrace the Duke was to have been Dunkirk, he was sent on a dangerous enterprise, which was rendered popular to awake National expectation, he was promised every means to facilitate success, and disappointed in all. Securing however by his gallantry and skill, a triumph and defeat over Ministerial purposes, he was immediately charged with not having done sufficient; and aware of the honorable testimony of his gallant comrades, Administration produce the gasconade evidence of a French officer from Dunkirk, who boasting with what little force they defended the place, the Minister concludes with what little force the Duke should have taken it; that is, in other words, that Administration are not guilty of not having supplied force enough, but the Duke accusable for not having done enough. What miserable subterfuge and shifts!

The principle of Administration, displayed throughout the conduct of the war, was a bad one, their plans were not good, and the scene of action worse: all was ill calculated, ill combined, and worse executed by them. The theatre of glory for this country is the ocean. There she rose, and THERE WILL SHE SET. But how was our Navy conducted in the beginning of this war? And even now Ministerial duplicity is not without influence over the head of our Army and Navy: every stratagem and dexterous art are put in play to insinuate, deceive, and render them instruments of its artifice. The Duke of York however, and Lord Spencer, have a more permanent interest in this country, than the Minister in his place. Were they to cast their eyes over the two following statements relative to their respective departments, they might with conclusive accuracy judge of the military and naval conduct of Administration throughout the war, by those instances of its effects upon the country.

The Colonial plans of Administration have been loudly censured by the wisest of their friends. But the all-sufficient administration smiled at remonstrance: let them now drop a  
tear



tear. Alas! it will not extinguish the afflictions of the living, nor blot out from memory the record of the dead. St. Domingo has cost this country more than its purchaseable value. I mean in treasure. But what has it cost in blood, what has it cost in malignant deaths, when the very atmosphere, that is necessary for existence, is the instrument of dissolution, and the softest gale from Heaven is stronger in desolation than the fiercest foe. Dearly indeed have we paid for this spacious cemetery, in which we have interred 9000 of our people in one year.

I have said that the succeeding statement belongs to the department of Lord Spencer, because the existence of the royal and commercial Navy I conceive to be one, and their prosperity and duration inseparable. I have therefore considered the loss and gain in such a manner as that the conduct of Administration will appear evidently in the naval effects upon the country.

Statement

Statement of ships taken and lost from the commencement of hostilities, to 1st January, 1797.

|          | French.   | Dutch.   | Spanish. | English. | Total.    | Difference. |
|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Line     | 53        | 4        | 0        | 7        | 57        | 50          |
| Frigates | 70        | 9        | 1        | 15       | 80        | 65          |
| Sloops   | 53        | 8        | 0        | 17       | 61        | 44          |
|          | <hr/> 176 | <hr/> 21 | <hr/> 1  | <hr/> 39 | <hr/> 198 | <hr/> 159   |
| Guns     | 6387      | 716      | 34       | 1221     | 6137      | 4916        |

Merchant ships captured, according to some 6,000, according to others 3000, and on average estimated, with their cargoes, at 10,000 each: the account therefore stands thus:

|                                         |       |               |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| Balance in our favour by ships of war   | _____ | 4,916,000     |
| Loss by merchant ships (the number 300) | _____ | 30,000,000    |
| Evident loss by captures                | _____ | £. 25,084,000 |

Which sum is sufficient to build, fit out, and victual 313 eighty gun ships.

To our gallant seamen we owe much during this war, but to our Administration calamity upon calamity. What indeed could be expected where consummate ignorance reigned: and of this ignorance we shall have a striking proof in considering the state of our colonies.

COLONIES.

## COLONIES.

While the Minister was squandering away the blood and treasure of this nation to get possession of a pestilential cemetery, he was utterly heedless of our safety in our most valuable islands, near and remote. It is well known that so little regarded was the care of commerce or the empire, that a ship was cut out of the harbour, in Jamaica, by a French vessel, attended by every circumstance to cast disgrace upon the negligence of Administration. This produced an alarm and remonstrance on the part of the West India gentlemen. But during the meeting between the Ministers and them, with their usual confidence Ministers told them, that their fears were groundless, for they had sent out a fleet to protect them, which was within call of their island. These gentlemen requested to know where the fleet was? They mentioned the place. One of them begged the Minister to be so good as to oblige him for a moment with a map of this part of the empire, and he then shewed our Ministers of State, our all instructed Premier, that the station, to which they had sent the fleet to be within call of

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Jamaica, required a more than Stentor's voice, with the loudest swelling trumpet that philosophy could devise. The place within call was at eight days distance.

But the knowledge of Administration is equally conspicuous on other points, as well as that of geography, relative to colonies. Talents Mr. Pitt possesses, as manifestly as the sun does splendor: the shrewdness of Mr. Dundas is not less disputable than the keenness of the barren blast from the northern heath: but these qualities become the more pernicious the less capable men are for their stations through ignorance. They are exerted to draw a veil over misconduct, and to pass from error to delusion, and from delusion to crime. Let us view a brief sketch of facts.

The revenue of the western colonies produces about four millions *per annum*; whereas Jamaica alone could produce ten millions, if encouraged. Why then is not the former spontaneous production of the island, which was sacrificed by a monstrous policy to Spain? Why is not the cultivation of indigo vigorously promoted? Why do not the necessary taxes fall rather upon luxurious absentees, than



than at the root of commerce to choak and devour it? Why are not its various dyes introduced? Why not all its cottons encouraged? Why not all its spicy productions? We see that in the course of a few years, an individual has been able, from a few plants taken in the last war, to bark 300 cinnamon trees in one year. But, beside want of encouragement in the islands, there are oppressions in this country upon the commerce of the colonies.

If a planter send 20,000l. worth of merchandise to the port of London, and it passes under the beam, and is consumed by fire on board the ship, he must, notwithstanding, pay all duties. The disproportion between the amount of the duties to Government, and the value of the commodity to the owner must also appear surprising. Rum pays to Government about 40l. upon the quantity which produces little more than 20l. to the proprietor. When the ass is so loaded as to be oppressed by his panniers, what cares he, who is his master! Mr. Pitt has, in his great political wisdom, accelerated the means and desire of change, by opening the commerce between the colonies and America, by his parliamentary

liamentary stalking-horse of negro freedom, and by his job of raising thirteen regiments of negroes. Here is abundant matter for accusation, were we to develop those deeds throughout all their motives and consequences. As to the last act, it was for the benefit of an individual, and consequently that of either mother country or colonies was not calculated. The mischief however is obvious. The negroes, whether bought in the islands or Africa, will hence become dearer, and consequently all the articles of commerce, and the commerce itself feel it: hence also, the negroes being taught the use of arms, will do for themselves, what they have done for others in the French islands. Thus it appears how much this nation and the colonies stand indebted to Mr. Pitt, in respect to commerce, in respect to a change of rulers issuing from America, or starting up on the scene of revolution. Let us now take a summary view of the East.

#### THE EAST, &c.

Here is a vast field to call forth detestation; but the word *Memoirs* implies a limitation, which spares virtue its afflictions from

from extensive views of vice. Ample justice will be hereafter done to the principles of Administration, to their lust of power and prodigality. Facts may perhaps alarm them more at this moment. They are sensible objects to rouse the resentment of present men bleeding under them. But their principles, in the full detail of some historian, will torture the soul and feelings of posterity. It may be their's to lament, but it is our's to resist.

Mr. Fox's bill existing but in remembrance, I shall not enter into it. But Mr. Pitt, with some modifications in the letter, has fully adopted its spirit, which was represented by his party as the blackest emanation of hostility against the King. As to Mr. Fox he is the very reverse of Mr. Pitt—his political character is nearly contained in his opinion, some years back, of the English Constitution —“ Faulty in theory, excellent in practice.” Whereas Mr. Pitt is excellent\* in theory, faulty in practice.

By his Indian sway Mr. Pitt collects around him a considerable phalanx for support. What

\* Belle parole, e cativi fatti  
Ingannano favi, e matti.



boons are its Governments, and all the concatenation of dependants upon dependants, to submit and serve for such princely favours? What is the sway of the Board of Control? What is the influence over the Directors? What is the reciprocity of support when a proprietor becomes Director? Yet not content with a patronage, unparalleled by Royalty upon the globe, and instrumental to strengthen power for use or abuse over Britain, Administration would now turn this patronage against itself, against this very source of its monarchical sway. I call to remembrance, in testimony of this, the attempted job of a depot for East Indian troops. I call to remembrance the peevish, puerile *menace of a complaint* to Parliament by Mr. Dundas. I call to remembrance the following statement from the chief proprietors, signed by Lord Kinnaird, and afterwards published officially for the convention of the Directors—That the Board of Control (which is the engine of Administration, and of which Mr. Dundas is the constituted main spring) in direct opposition to the sense and remonstrance of the Court of Directors, had ordered disbursements to the amount of one million two hundred thousand pounds, in a manner not only injurious, but  
upon



upon a principle so alarming, that it must in its future consequences endanger the very existence of the East India Company.

The civil power of the company had been taken from them, and the power of the sword was now to be wrested that the power of the purse might follow. Thus the Minister would have secured new patronage for power and prodigality. The Indian army, instead of promotion by seniority, must owe their rank to their interests at St. James's. And as Mr. Pitt has made nearly two-thirds of the Peers of Parliament, he might, in time, make two thirds of their fortune by the purse of India. And here I must pay a tribute to his principles, in saying that he will not endanger *merit* by those favors.

As to the question of patronage, it is already given up by the East India Company. The Directors are but the mere passive instruments of government, to register the ministerial mandates. In obedience to the Board of Control, they would transfer the army of the company to administration, and in direct violation of a positive act of parliament. This act, which states and establishes their privileges,

vileges, is still unrepealed, and therefore their proceedings are illegal. But they would sacrifice the law, their right, and themselves \* in abject submission to government. But they are not without precedent: history tells us of freemen who solicited to become slaves.

Had they however, as they should have done, carried into execution the old plan of the court of directors, they would have saved three or four hundred thousand pounds to the company. Whereas now, by the purposed mission of Lord Cornwallis, they incur the additional expence of half a million more. But more, much more was meant. The hecatomb to administration, was to have flattered in the nature of its victims the primary principle of administration. To their lust of power and prodigality, in addition to the former sacrifice of civil authority, was to be offered up to the present one of the sword, and the future one of the purse. How glorious an administration is his that carries poison and death into every vein and artery of the imperial body; that tramples upon law; scoffs at

\* What is the Empire in the consideration of such men? Mr. Fox's bill was more honest in its avowed principle, and less baneful in its effects. But I am averse from both systems.

constitution, and deals around universal ruin. Come forth thou evil genius!—Thou spirit of destruction,—and let us hail thee—Pitt!! Thou art the man.

In contempt of all public faith, he has violated its sacred laws; in contempt of all merit and the state he has abused its bodies, branches, and departments. In contempt of royal favour he has turned it against itself; in contempt of all security he has endangered the empire, by weakness if not by wickedness; in contempt of the remonstrances of the bank, he exhausted it of its cash, so as to create a deficiency for daily purposes, injure the national credit, paralyse commerce, and create an alarm for the existence of the body; in contempt of all policy for the Western Colonies, he has neglected and exposed them to combined dangers and oppressions, and has irritated their principal leaders; in contempt of the British nation he has squandered its wealth, not only with a prodigality unparalleled, but with a power unwarranted by the constitution, and calling on the parliament as to register his prodigal edicts for abroad, and pecuniary mandates for at home, he has shaken Britain to the centre; in contempt of  
all



all remonstrances in respect to the East, he has usurped the civil power, claims the sword, and exhausts the purse; in contempt of the cool and collected wisdom of men, both in Britain and Ireland, he pursues the latter with fire and sword—and the minister of coercion in America, Lord Cornwallis, is kept, like a destroying spirit, in suspense, whether he is to turn his rod of fury and of flame toward the East or toward the West; finally, in contempt of the universal remonstrances of this nation, Mr. Pitt continues his career of corruption, so awful as to fill heaven with the murmurs and lamentations of the starving and the dying, so destructive as to be written in characters of blood upon the face of the globe, so perfect, so complete in ruin as to shake from top to bottom our sacred and civil government, as to undermine and rend the throne, the altar, and the state.

Therefore am I hostile to him as a minister, and I avow it on my hopes of being considered an honest man. It is a title dearer to me than any he could bestow. But I feel humanity for him as an individual, and advise him to retire. If he advance in doing wrong, he may quickly pass like a forerunner of the state, the ominous symbol of dissolution. But if he  
wrong.



wrong his principles and do right, he will seek safety in the shades of solitary contempt, Retired from the rage of popular detestation, and the dangerous distinctions of judicial authority, such a man will find, when sunk into a degradation beneath the reach of deadly ignominy, a consolation amidst the living infamy of disgrace. And even this state will be one of honor and estimation, compared to his present; he will then be but infamous and passive, he is now flagitious and active. Millions and millions of unhappy creatures, at this very moment agonise in tears and blood under the *Lust of his Power and Prodigality*. They shall bear record against him on a future day,

Such my Lord are the general traits of the frightful policy pursued by Administration. But were I to have harrowed up the ground of dissensions in the eastern branches of the empire, or were I to undraw the veil of government in the western, a mystery of abomination would appear in Ireland, which must afflict humanity, and move nature to abhorrence. However as this unhappy island has been the object of hostile invasion, the subject of Parliamentary contention, and the victim of Ministerial *Lust of Power and Prodigality*, I shall

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state

state to your Lordship, in a succeeding letter upon this and other points, ample reasons in support of your Parliamentary motions, and loyal conferences with his Majesty, for the *Removal* of his *Ministers*. But my Lord the removal of men were a superficial remedy, we must cut deeper, and go to the root of their measures. While Mr. Burke narrowed the splendor, apparent dignity and power of Majesty, he widened and gave real strength to Administration. He lessened the influence of the Crown, but he increased that of the Ministry. It was adding more poison to a water that had been increasing in corruption from anterior times. But my Lord, it is in its source, I mean, that we should purify this stream of *Lust of Power* and *Prodigality*.

I have the honor to remain with sincere respect and consideration,

Your Lordship's

obedient servant,

DAVID GAM.

